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Premier, Russian Soviet Republic

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mit einem Geleitwort von

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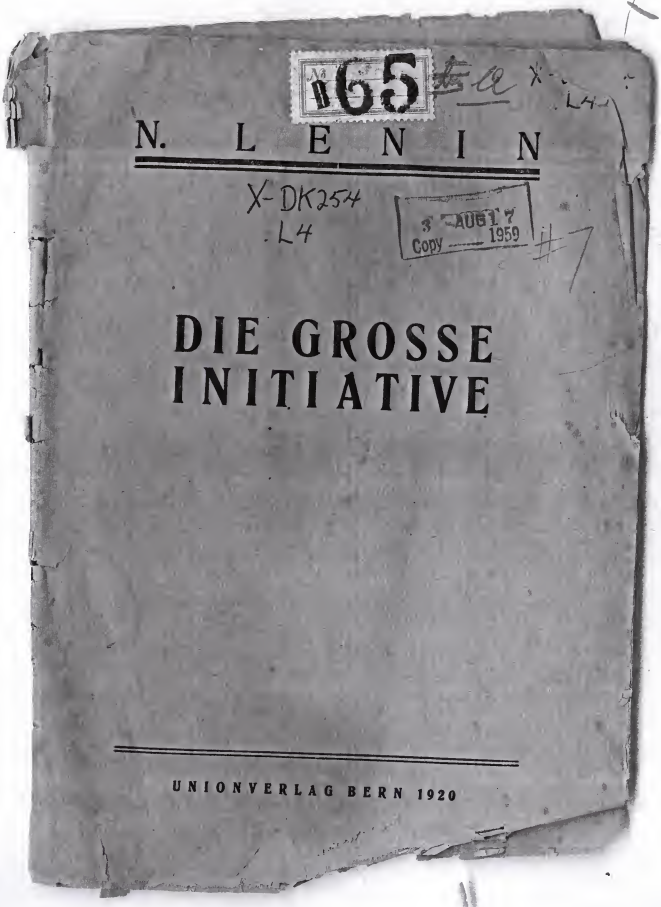
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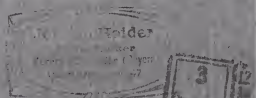

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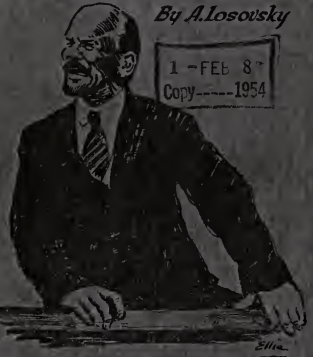

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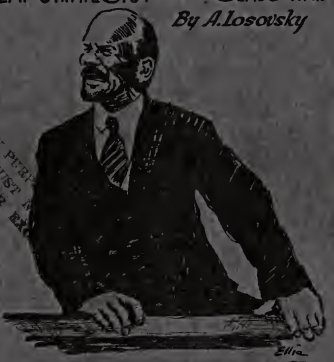

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LENIN'S PLACE IN HISTORY

(From a Talk Given by Scott Nearing at the Current History Class)

RAND SCHOOL, JANUARY 26, 1924

HUNTED as a criminal between 1897 and 1917; at the top of the world from 1917 until the day of his death—this is the dramatic story of Nicolai Lenin. The son of a school teacher; the brother of a man executed for participation in a plot against the life of the Czar; a careful student of Marxian economics; a keen observer of contemporary affairs; the leader of the Bolshevik Party; the creator of the Communist Party of Russia, this plain man, dressed in his cap and sack suit, was able to win, from the millions of Russia, a personal devotion that has hardly been matched in modern times.

How did he do it?

Here is an answer, penned by another Russian, who far from agreeing with the policies which Lenin advocated. Maxim Gorky writes: "I see this man delivering a speech at a labor meeting. The words he uses are extremely simple; his speech is like wrought iron; his logic is like the blows of an axe. Yet in his severe diction I have never caught a word of crude demagogery, or the disgusting dandyism of the pretty phrase. He always speaks about the same thing: about the necessity of destroying, at the very root, the social inequality among men, and about the way in which this can be done. . . . It seems to me that he is not interested in all in individual men; he thinks in terms of parties, classes, states. He has that fortunate clearness of thought which is acquired by hard and insistent labor." -(Living Age, Oct., 1920, p. 70.)

Here is no flattering, friendly picture, but a bold description on which the enemies and friends of Lenin alike agree. He was a man of iron, the patterns of whose mind had been formed when he was in his teens.

Lenin was born in 1870. At the age of sixteen, as a student in the University of Kazan, he was compelled to choose between two paths of revolutionary activity: the path of terrorism, which led his brother to the scaffold; and the path of organization and scientific education, built upon the writings of Marx and his followers. Despite the prevalence of terroristic influences around him, and at this early age, Lenin chose the latter course. He believed that only through the organization of the masses could the end which he sought be reached.

This is the first fact that the historian will be compelled to note regarding the life of this man: he was an idealist. From his youth he had in his mind a picture of the thing which he sought to realize, and through the many trials and struggles of the intervening years, he kept this picture clear. It was ever before his eyes, and the face of the most insuperable obstacles, he calmly held his plans.

Before the Revolution of 1905 broke in Russia, Lenin had worked out all of the major strategy which was later to be applied in the Revolution of 1917—the principle of the dictatorship; the confiscation of the property of the privileged classes; the tactics of revolutionary procedure. The Revolution of 1905 ended in bloody defeat for the revolutionists. Many grew discouraged, went back to business, left for the New World, surrendered their ideals before this crushing necessity. Not so Lenin. He went to work, with the most painstaking labor, to analyze the causes of failure as they had worked themselves out in 1905, and to lay sounder plans for the next uprising. The fainter of heart were discouraged; Lenin's ideals were undimmed.

The next thing that the historian will note about Lenin was his ability to put his principles into practice. The world has held multitudes of idealists, but how many of them are able to realize their ideals when the opportunity comes to them? For twenty years Lenin was a fugitive, hounded by the police. During that time he held steadily to his course. In 1917 he stepped into the position of supreme leadership among the Russian people. He had a chance to put his theories to the test, and where he found that they did not work out as he had expected, he announced his mistake, publicly, before the whole world, and then set about the establishment of a new line of policy better fitted to meet the situation. It is sometimes difficult to make an advance in the face of the enemy; it is doubly hard to make a retreat in the face of friends. The introduction of the New Economic Policy was such a retreat, and there is no statesman in the whole range of modern experience, who has ever made such a retreat, and who has at the same time kept his people with him. Lenin accomplished this impossible task by the simple expedient of leading ahead and telling his followers exactly what he saw.

Such a command of theoretical understanding and of practical administrative detail combined has not been seen in public action since the time of Napoleon. These qualities place Lenin head and shoulders above any other statesman who was called to a position of supreme authority during the period of the World War.

The Russian Constitution of 1918 is the most important state paper since the Constitution of the United States was written in 1787. In it, for the first time, the rights of the industrial proletariat are asserted; in it, for the first time, there is laid the basis for the economic organization of the world. If the Russian Revolution had accomplished nothing more than the writing and publication of this document it would have been the most momentous event of the past hundred years.

But the Soviet Government went further, and by a series of decrees established a system of land socialization, and of the socialization of industry, trade and finance which are quite without parallel or precedent in the history of the modern world. They did these things after three years of devastating war; in a country where the machinery of production and transport were broken down; in the face of civil war; in the teeth of the united opposition of the remainder of the world; in the face of famine; in a continent that was being speedily paralyzed by one of the most terrible catastrophes that has overtaken modern men. Had the Russians merely held their own, it would have been a marvelous feat, in the years from 1920 to 1923, when the remainder of continental Europe was either disintegrating or standing still, the Russians went steadily forward in the improvement of production, transport and finance.

The third fact that the historian will note about Lenin is that he created ceaselessly,—in his mind and in the realm of affairs, and for these creations he never asked any reward other than the chance to try them out, and to have an opportunity to amend and to improve them where they failed to work. He took the materials at hand and made them up into best forms of which they were capable. He was an artist; a craftsman; a designer; an engineer. His motto was: create; produce; improve!

One other matter must be mentioned—the personal reactions of the man to the whirling change of his fortunes. He was big enough to be, for twenty years, an exile and a fugitive, without becoming sectarian or narrowed or embittered. He was big enough to become the leading figure in a great state without changing his manners, his clothes or his methods of life. He was big enough to step into a position of supreme, dictatorial power without ever stooping to any gross form of self-expression: to any personal debauchery; to any pomp or display of power.

History tells the story of many an empire-builder, who built by personal magnetism, courage, energy, and skill. For the most part they used the army and the navy to do their work. For the most part they ended the path of glory by decorating their own heads with crowns, and surrounding themselves with wanton luxury and lavish, meaningless show. In the midst of the counter-revolution and the famine, when dangers were so pressing, and when his life was seemingly so very important to Russia, Lenin ate the common ration and starved with the rest of the people.

Whatever Lenin's achievements in the field of politics and economics, none will stand out more brightly on the page of history than this personal triumph: he asked nothing for himself; he was one with his people; his life was devoted to the world revolution as the most available means of liberating the human race.

* * *

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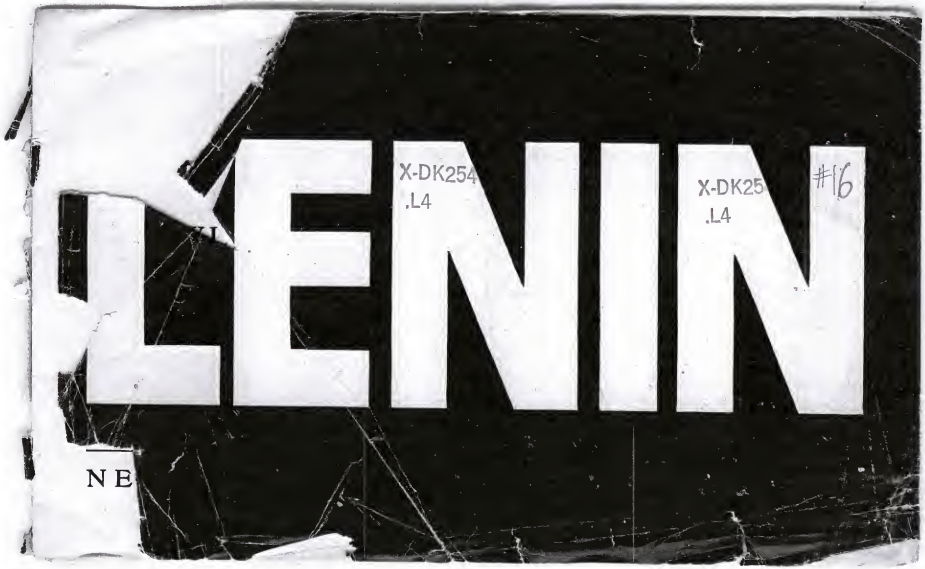
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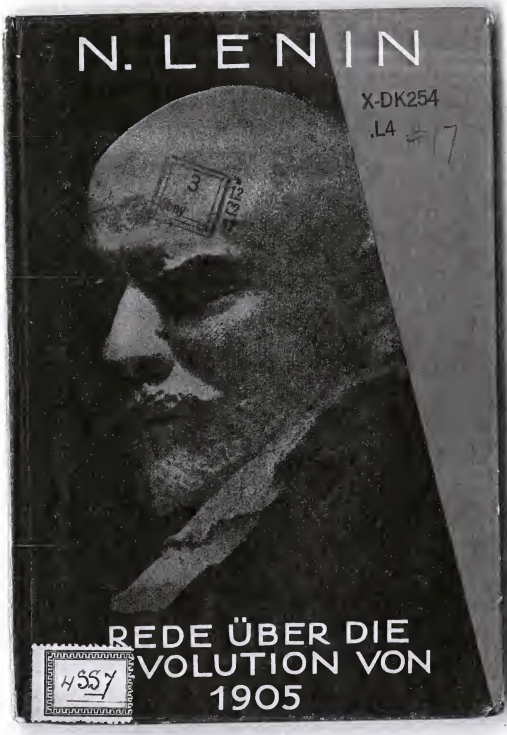

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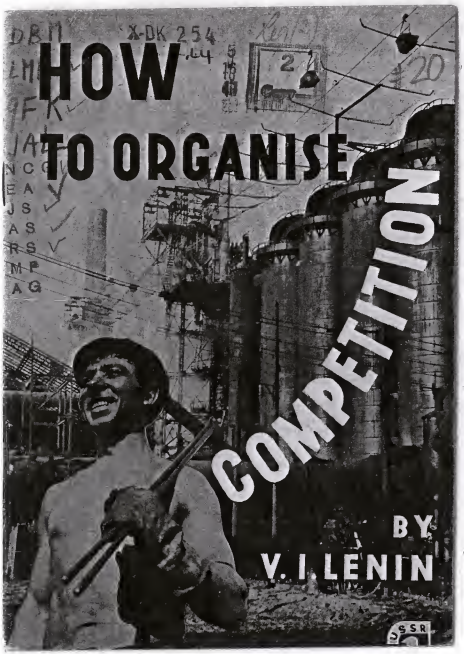
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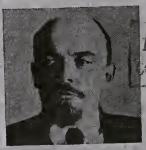

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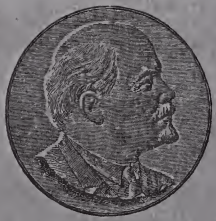

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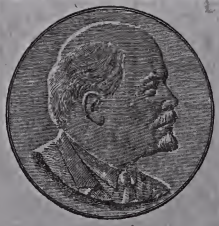

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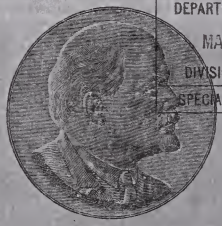

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